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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1742



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

MEETING OF BLOC PUBLISHERS--Representatives of publishing houses from Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, the Mongolian People's Republic, Poland, the USSR, Hungary, and Vietnam discussed questions relating to the jointly published series "Socialism: Experience, Problems, Perspectives," and "Criticism of Bourgeois Ideology and Revisionism," at a working meeting in Berlin which ended on 1 November 1979. They emphasized that the effective dissemination of socialist ideology was assuming increasing importance. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Nov 79 p 4 AU]

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ACHIEVEMENTS OF JUSTICE MINISTRY LAUDED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 164, 26 Oct 79 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Justice Firmly Under the Control of the SED."
A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article referred to below
follows this commentary]

[Text] Judges in the GDR almost without exception are members of the SED. As State Secretary Herbert Kern of the East Berlin Ministry of Justice has announced, 95.8 percent of the 940 directors and judges of kreis courts holds SED membership or--few of them--membership in a "bloc party." In terms of social origin, 82.3 percent belongs to the "workers class" or is employed in material production. Every other judge in the kreis courts is a woman. Of the approximately 50,000 lay judges at the kreis courts, nearly two-thirds are members of the SED or of a "friendly party." In terms of social composition, the lay judges are made up of 52 percent of workers, 30.7 percent of salaried employees, 8.4 percent of members of the intelligentsia, and 6.1 percent of members of production cooperatives. The proportion of women is 51 percent. Far more than half of the more than 54,000 members of the arbitration commissions also, which handle minor crimes and minor civil law litigations, are members of the SED. There, 38.9 percent is made up of workers, 26 percent of employees, 17.2 percent of members of the production cooperatives and 8.3 percent of members of the intelligentsia. The proportion of women there is 44.5 percent.

The State Secretary underscored in this context that among all the tasks of the Ministry of Justice, cadre work came first. That included a skilled selection of the future jurists, influencing a practically relevant training for the students, and preparing the graduates for their intended function.
(NEUE JUSTIZ 10/79)

Past Accomplishments, Future Tasks

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 33 No 10, Oct 79 pp 426-429

[Article by Dr Herbert Kern, state secretary, GDR Ministry of Justice:
"On the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR--The Socialist
State and Legal System To Be Constantly Strengthened"]

[Text] The impressive overall balance-sheet drawn up for our domestic and foreign policy development in the 30th year after the founding of our worker and peasant state by the 10th SED Central Committee session also is reflected by what has been done in the Ministry of Justice.

As an organ of the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Justice must contribute prominently to the implementation of a unified state policy in enforcing and shaping socialist law. In party-mindedness, with a wealth of ideas and purposeful diligence, and above all by means of working together with other central justice and security organs, the Ninth SED Congress mission in further perfecting the socialist legal system and strengthening legality has been carried out systematically in recent years. All employees on state and social jurisdictional bodies and the members on the attorneys' boards have had a share in it. Their pride and joy about what they have accomplished inspire them with new incentives for greater efforts still in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

For these successes, and for all other successes in the whole history of socialist justice up to this time, our fraternal solidarity with the Ministry of Justice of the Soviet Union and the ministries of justice in the other fraternal countries was of great benefit. And that will continue to be true in the future.

Consistent Strengthening of Socialist Legality

The class content of our justice remains decisive in all the work done in the Ministry of Justice. It has to strengthen the socialist state, develop socialist democracy, protect the state and social order, organize society in its further development and, in conformity with objective requirements, stimulate the further development of socialist social relations.

All efforts are aimed at further strengthening socialist legality and resolutely opposing enemy influence and attempts at interference under the altered conditions in the ideological class conflict with imperialism. At the same time, we must resolutely protect socialist property and the economy, reliably guarantee the citizens' rights and interests, strengthen the citizens' confidence in their state through high legal security and culture and, not last, make prevail the power of radiation of the moral values of our justice in all fields convincingly, relevantly and in a mobilizing sense.

Jurisdictional activity in civil, family, labor and criminal law is the most important task the courts have. It helps resolve conflicts, strengthen social relations and conditions and react rigorously to hostile and other criminal assaults. On the other hand, by meaningfully combining force with persuasion, lasting educational effects can be produced in offenders whose acts rate as minor law violations.

To spot properly ahead of time trends developing in the administration and application of law and difficulties arising for what the courts and state notaries have to do, and to be able to affect all that in managerial terms, analysis and reporting for all jurisdictional fields of the state and social courts, and for the setting of fines and in the courts' constitutional, procedural and notary law, have been further developed.

The important thing in the further directional and control activities of the Ministry of Justice is to see to it that the justice organs will become more effectively still one element in the whole complex of social activities for fighting crimes and other law violations. Undiminished care, therefore, is required for the initiatives for order, discipline and security in the enterprises and residential areas. The whole economy benefits from that, and it encourages the working people's sense of responsibility for legality and law security. Courts and state notaries thus enhance their contribution to meeting territorial and overall social tasks that have to be fulfilled under the direction of the local people's representations. There is no doubt that in the past success has been achieved especially in this regard, and our working by means of the law has been improved as a contribution to the fulfillment of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. It became noticeable for citizens pursuing their law that their concerns, requests and petitions were taken seriously and that man holds the central position in all the efforts by the justice organs on behalf of solving conflicts or insuring high law security.

The Ministry of Justice is doing a better job all the time in this direction. This is the case mainly because of the support it lends in situ, the joint events sponsored on a central or bezirk level with the directors of bezirk and kreis courts and with other executive cadres, and because of the kinds of operations that involve experience exchange and highly differentiated training measures which keep account of present and future requirements. The Ministry also supports the attorneys' boards, so that the lawyers present more effectively citizens seeking their rights.

Further Developing the Legal System

Constantly perfecting socialist law in conformity with social requirements is a task in which the Ministry of Justice is actively involved. That, among other things, is reflected in the legislative bills worked out in close cooperation with other central organs and institutions and with the FDGB Executive Committee.

What is becoming more important right now is the legal work in the economy and, connected with that, higher skills in justiciary activity. Upon surveying some areas in the economy, the Ministry of Justice sent its analytical data to the ministers and managers of the central state organs concerned and combined them with suggestions and recommendations for more effective forms and methods in the administration of law in management and planning processes. That eventually gave the managers of combines, enterprises and cooperatives direct support for taking care of their specific responsibilities. From the knowledge gained thereby, recommendations for the further development of legal work in the economy were submitted to the GDR Council of Ministers. In this manner and in other ways the Ministry of Justice helps prepare, and then implement, resolutions on the further structuring of economic legislation.

The further work in this field is now especially aimed at promoting the process of forming larger industrial combines through a systematic analysis and generalization of experiences in the use made of socialist law as an important economic efficiency factor.

Important areas of our legal system have also been reorganized, in conformity with the degree of maturity of our socialist social order, through systematic codification in civil, family, labor and criminal law and their procedural laws as well as the supplementary and implementation provisions connected with them. As the discussions for preparing these laws take into account the working people's ideas about the further shaping of our legal order, the laws themselves have meanwhile become a solid element in the daily process that continues to shape our socialist social order. That is true not only of the activity of the courts themselves but of the citizens as well. There never was a period in which the citizens identified with their law more convincingly as there has been since the Eighth SED Congress, when especially such law codes as the labor, family and civil code become more highly effective.

The third penal law amendment, ratified by the GDR People's Chamber on 28 June 1979 and made effective as of 1 August 1979 is informed with the Ninth SED Congress objective of carrying on the socialist revolution in the GDR and reliably safeguarding the power of the workers class. Pursuant to the new requirements and experiences, the intention here is in particular to strengthen state authority and law security through the educational measures designed for law violators. By this manner of perfecting the protective and educational function the socialist state exercises through its law, this also amounts to systematically continuing the criminal policy that has proven itself so well up to this time. It has now become possible to react with still more discrimination and consequence to criminal assaults on the socialist government system, the socialist society, the public and state order, socialist property and the economy.

Thereby, and by making possible reactions that are less tolerant and more rigorous to asocial elements, for instance, to notorious recidivists and others unwilling to become honest and decent, account is taken of the basic interests of all citizens to work peacefully for their own benefit and, at the same time, for satisfying overall social requirements, and to live under the comfort of socialist social relations.

Strengthening the Democratic Foundations in the Administration of Justice

In the GDR, throughout the 30-year history of its socialist system and its legality, a socialist justice has developed which is distinguished by its relevance to life, solidarity with the people, party-mindedness for the cause of peace and social progress and thus, by a high and ever growing authority.

That was once again reflected by the 1979 spring elections of the directors, judges and lay judges of the kreis courts and the members of the arbitration commissions. They were embedded in the communal elections and closely combined with them. These elections, important for the further work of the organs of justice, further strengthened the leadership role of the workers class. A total of 82.3 percent of the newly elected cadres is socially of working class origin or directly employed in material production. Of the 940 elected kreis court directors and judges, 95.8 percent holds membership in the workers class party or some other block party. Total composition is well balanced as between older, more experienced and younger judges. Every other kreis court judge is a woman now. It shows that in this area, too, justice has fully implemented equality.

In preparing and conducting the election of 49,700 lay judges for the kreis courts, 21,449 events were held in enterprises and residential areas. There the candidates were tested and, found suitable, confirmed. But other legal matters of general interest would also always be discussed and explained at these always well attended meetings. In terms of social composition, of the newly elected lay judges, 52 percent is working class, 30.7 percent salaried employees, 8.4 percent members of the intelligentsia, and 6.1 percent members of the production cooperatives. Of them, 62.5 percent holds membership in the SED or some other block party. The proportion of women is 51 percent. Of the lay judges voted in, 35.9 percent is exercising this function for the first time.

For 5,237 arbitration commissions in the GDR 54,290 members were elected. Of them, 38.9 percent is working class, 26 percent employees, 17.2 percent members of production cooperatives and 8.3 percent members of the intelligentsia, and 51.4 percent holds membership in the SED or some other block party. The proportion of women here is 44.5 percent. For one-third of them, this is the first time they are working on the arbitration commission.

Now one must make sure that this broad democratic basis be fully used for the further work of the justice organs. The lay judges, the working people's legitimate representatives, have the same rights and duties in their judicial functions as the professional judges. In a comradely manner the professional judges have to make sure that the lay judges can exercise their juridical function fully from the start. That also has to be taken into account in further and advanced training for them. Furthermore, in terms of kreis court management, we should give more attention to those tasks that would allow the lay judges, in appropriate cases, to bring more of their own influence to bear on the checking of educational and probational processes for persons so convicted and for enforcing exemplary order, discipline and security in

the enterprises. Targeted management measures also should make sure that the lay judges get actively involved in explaining the socialist law in its unity of rights and civic duties.

It will have to be seen to it systematically that the arbitration commissions, as the chosen volunteer organs of education and self-education, contribute in the proven manner to enforcing the socialist way of life in the residential areas in the towns and communities. Through their jurisdiction and many other activities, legal consciousness and the respect for the law must be further strengthened in the citizens, and socialist relations are to be further developed through their fellowship.

The work of the arbitration commissions must still be more strongly exposed to the public. That is an important political task. That requires of the directors in the bezirk and kreis courts, time and time again, close cooperation with the other organs of justice, the local people's representations, the social organizations and the National Front commissions.

It must be made sure that all members of the arbitration commissions receive the benefits of training measures and are properly assisted in their activities. And here, in the wake of the elections, the 145 newly formed arbitration commissions and all chairmen and deputies elected for the first time must get special aid and support so that they can make the fullest use of their functions.

The elections of the directors, judges and lay judges for the kreis courts and of the arbitration commissions once again impressively revealed the socialist character of our administration of justice. On this firm foundation of true justice the associates and all volunteer members of the state and social organs of justice will carry out their mandates as deputies of the workers class and all working people, respect their advice and opinion and thus constantly gain their confidence.

Perfecting Law Propaganda and Law Education

Our socialist construction in the last three decades also was a process of constantly growing consciousness for the working people. Law education and law propaganda, elements of our political-ideological work, must therefore always be further developed and brought up-to-date—based on the directions in the party and government resolutions. Special tasks fall to the Ministry of Justice here too.

Through many measures for systematically shaping our law propaganda, our contribution to the development of the socialist legal consciousness was improved. That satisfies the demand raised at the Ninth SED Congress to educate the citizens so they will voluntarily abide by legal norms and protect socialist property—including its protection from damage and fire—and adopt aware discipline and high vigilance with respect to all enemy influence. The Ministry of Justice makes regular assessments of this activity and the results achieved and sets down measures for continued effective work.

The Ministry's specific responsibility for the central state control and coordination of law propaganda is improving all the time. A "working team for law propaganda" was set up especially for it. It is composed of experienced jurists, scientists, journalists, representatives of several ministries and of central and local organs and, above all, of social organizations. It has made an outstanding name for itself in analytically assessing and creatively initiating measures for improving the effectiveness of law propaganda. Also the setting down of uniform thematic priorities in law propaganda by the Ministry of Justice and their being subsequently published in a stimulating manner in NEUE JUSTIZ count as noticeable advances in this field.

Year after year there is an increase in the number of law propaganda events sponsored by judges, prosecuting attorneys and notaries for analyzing trials and explaining socialist law. Last year, some 2 million citizens were addressed that way. This has to be rated a great achievement. Our focus will remain on this task because there is a greater, and further growing, interest the public has in legal matters. Great responsibility for discriminating and effective work here is shared by the courts, the state notaries, and the attorneys' boards. Through close, coordinated collaboration with the other organs of justice and security, and with the Association of the Jurists of the GDR, it will become still more important to make presentations before work collectives, young people, managers and educators, and in the residential areas. The main thing here will be to present publicly the results and experiences gathered in the practical activities of the organs of justice, that is to say, mainly the jurisdictional ones. It helps resolve contradictions and is proven to be effective publicity.

Proceedings admitting a broader invited public, if properly selected, can also be highly effective.

In 1973, there were 600 proceedings held in enterprises that attracted an audience of 28,688. In 1978, it went up to 3,071 proceedings with a total audience of 112,948. That is a gratifying balance-sheet. It properly becomes part of many other legal and social initiatives for improving the effectiveness of law propaganda and law education. But here--as everywhere else--it is not just a matter of quantity, of the number of such proceedings, but one of quality and an educational power of radiation. For that reason we must continue to be extremely conscientious in weighing and deciding where, for which circle of persons, and with respect to what matters, proceedings should admit a broader audience.

Cadework--Key to Solving All Tasks

Legal work is quality work. That is the maxim that informs all management efforts and all the imaginative work of the employees in the organs of justice on all levels. The jurists and the other employees have become clearly more highly educated in recent years. Through courses, self-study or departmentally or centrally organized advance education measures there shows the endeavor

to arrive at high-grade work through education and accurate knowledge. Especially in preparation of the 30th anniversary, new ideas were generated which at the same time establish criteria for all the future work in advanced education.

And that is why cadre work is of first-rate importance among all the tasks of the Ministry of Justice. With that in mind, the Ministry has done successful work on the basis of a long-range conception. The target-directed selection of our future jurists as such, and then the influence brought to bear on providing the students with practically relevant training and preparing the graduates of our universities for their intended functions through assistant training, have received the central attention of our cadre work. The system of advanced education has also been improved so that, in parallel with the higher demands, our associates' skills are enhanced.

Cadre work is everyday work with the people. It includes the care for improving their intellectual-ideological-theoretical level as much as the attention to and the "taking care of" justified personal demands. To develop that aspect further, we have always thought it very important that the directors and managers on all levels pay more attention to cadre work in their management activities.

Our associates are doing extensive and diversified work--be they technical employees, judges, notaries or secretaries. None but recognition and the highest respect are warranted for their achievements, initiatives and dedication. For that reason we always thought it our obligation to make efforts for improving their working and living conditions. A concern for children's camps, recreational opportunities and the material-technical furnishings for the courts and notaries' offices are tasks of the Ministry we by no means regard as secondary.

Further Development of International Legal Relations

A mark of the systematic development of the GDR as an internationally respected socialist state is its close friendly contact and fighting alliance with the other fraternal socialist countries.

In years past treaty relations with the fraternal states were further developed also in the administration of justice to insure thereby mainly a more effective cooperation for protecting the citizens' rights and interests and preventing, and fighting against, crimes. In 1979, for instance, the GDR signed a new treaty with Bulgaria on legal transactions in civil, family and criminal matters and another treaty on the same subject matter with Cuba, in Havana.

The high level of collaboration reached among the ministries of justice in the fraternal socialist countries is given expression above all by the outcome of personal consultations held among the ministers in these ministries. Their last meeting was held in Berlin, the capital of the GDR, in May 1978. These conferences reflect a new quality--as do the valuable and instructive results of law comparisons among the socialist states in the various subject areas. All can use the experiences made by any of the countries. That proves itself increasingly as a valuable factor for making our work more effective.

Furthermore, our state also has done preparatory work for ratifying and validating the multilateral convention on extraditing persons convicted so they will complete their sentences in the state of which they are citizens. Extensive tasks have been initiated for concluding further legal aid treaties with nonsocialist states, and multilateral conferences were attended or sponsored by the Ministry of Justice in the GDR.

The Ministry bears a special responsibility for the GDR's participation in the conference of CEMA member countries' representatives for legal matters, a permanent CEMA organ set up in 1970. Our special concern was and will be in the future to create or perfect, through close collaboration with other state organs and science institutions, the legal foundations that serve the CEMA member countries' economic and scientific-technical cooperation. A high place value attaches to the analysis and generalizations of the experiences and data resulting from this work for submitting decision proposals to the GDR Council of Ministers and its organs and for elaborating proposals and recommendations for enforcing the requirements for socialist economic integration in terms of legal economic work.

The Ministry of Justice has done ancillary work in fulfillment of the tasks resulting for the GDR from its UN membership. That, for example with regard to the question of how human rights are guaranteed in our country and implemented in public life. In 1979, moreover, in response to the requirement raised in the report, information was provided on the independence of the judges, lay judges and members of the social courts, and that of our attorneys, and on the equality of our citizens before the law and the court.

At the UN seminar conducted in Geneva in July 1979, on legal ways and means available to the victims of racial discrimination, we could show, as a balance-sheet on 30 years of socialist state and law development in the GDR, that under our social conditions the roots of any racial discrimination have been totally eradicated.

The experiences gained on the whole in its work and management activity will be used by the Ministry of Justice in its domain of responsibility, and in accordance with the demands raised by the Ninth SED Congress, by further improving its working procedures so that, by means of socialist law, a still greater contribution is made to the fulfillment of the main task. The associates and employees of the state and social courts, the state notaries and the attorneys' boards, as much as the officials of the Ministry of Justice, will continue to fulfill their mission reliably throughout the fourth decade of our worker and peasant state.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CULTURAL EXCHANGE WITH WEST: OBSTACLES, IMBALANCES CITED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 156, 12 Oct 79 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Complains About Obstacles in Cultural Exchange With West." A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK article cited below follows this report]

[Text] The semi-official East Berlin journal DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK has complained about obstacles for GDR artists appearing in the West. For some time, the commercial handling of artistic exchange had met with "increasing difficulties." Because of increasing expense and inflation, connected with the reduction in government subsidies, the signing of certain contracts frequently met with complications. And then there were other burdens, like delays in the granting of visas and bureaucratic obstacles, for instance in getting the work permits for visiting artists, which often were the condition for their performing. And finally there were attempts being made to let socialist artists appear only outside the political and cultural centers in any of those countries, to hold down their effectiveness.

Furthermore, the East Berlin paper called the situation in East-West cultural exchange "unsatisfactory" in many areas. In 1975 and 1976, for instance, the GDR had accepted 23 feature films from France but France, only three from the GDR. In the feature film exchange with the United States the ratio were twenty to one in favor of the GDR. Similar imbalances could be seen in the acquisition of book licenses and in the exchange of radio and television programs.

Foreign Policy Journal Report

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 24 No 10, Oct 79 signed to press 28 Aug 79 pp 94-106

[Article by Dr Erhard Hexelschneider, Herderinstitute, Leipzig; Dr Wolfgang Kleinwaechter and Dr Falko Raaz, both of Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "Thirty Years of Cultural Foreign Relations for Peaceful Coexistence Among States of Differing Social Orders"]

[Text] Together with the other socialist states, the GDR actively advocates the development of equal and mutually advantageous cultural relations among states with differing social orders on the basis of the principles of international law. This position, as Kurt Hager has emphasized, grows out of the "desire to consolidate and further develop by means of cultural relations also the positive international changes of recent years toward detente and peaceful coexistence. In addition, comprehensive and variegated cultural exchange also conforms with objective requirements of socialist culture and art: It is enriched and developed by constantly absorbing all progressive cultural values of world culture past and present."¹

This position has informed the GDR's attitude on cultural relations with the capitalist states from the outset. Accents have been placed differently always of course, in accordance with the concrete political and economic requirement and the international situation.² Yet shortly after it was founded, the GDR in a government announcement pointed to the need "to provide the German people with the possibility to foster and develop its culture freely and enter into free cultural exchange with all other peace-loving nations."³ This task resulted from a concern of principle, to surmount as quickly as possible the intellectual legacy of fascism and bring about a democratic renewal of culture.

Even in 1946, Wilhelm Pieck, later the president of the GDR, had asked "to create prerequisites and guarantees for the ideas always found among the greatest of all nations and times, the ideas of genuine, deeply felt, combative humanity and true freedom and democracy, the ideas of international understanding and social progress, to become the dominant factors in our cultural life."⁴

A basic task in the development of cultural relations with the capitalist world after the founding of the GDR also was to make a contribution to breaking through the diplomatic blockade and to work for the GDR's recognition under international law by means of culture, art, science and information. This was complicated because the main imperialist countries, in particular the FRG, sought to cut off normal equal interstate relations in the intellectual-cultural field within the scope of their diplomatic blockade, even thwarted and prevented elemental contacts in this field. Either they would ignore or derogate the achievements of our socialist national culture. With it, imperialism sought to oppose the formation of a socialist consciousness

by ideological diversion. The Cold War, which the GDR had to meet head-on, created the most unfavorable conditions conceivable for developing cultural relations in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. In spite of all that the GDR, unperturbed, advocated the normalization and all-round development of relations also with the capitalist states.

Spreading the truth about socialism on German soil, informing the people in capitalist countries about the life and domestic and foreign policy of the GDR, continued in hard struggle against imperialist agitation, calumny and discrimination. Intellectual cultural means played a great role in that too. Not rarely, GDR artists and creators of culture were among the first GDR representatives in the capitalist countries, and they would testify to the birth and growth of the first socialist German state.

The society for cultural contacts with foreign countries, founded in 1952, did important work for it. Set up originally for the cooperation among the socialist countries, after 1954, when the direct contacts among the institutions, organization and citizens in the socialist states had already been formed, it made an extensive contribution to the development of cultural contacts with capitalist countries. The emphasis was placed on receiving and dispatching scientists and artists, exhibitions and information, the organization of fairs and guest performances, the editing of publications, and the work with books and movies. In parallel with the implementation of accords with the capitalist states in 1953 and 1954--trade and payment agreements on the level of the state banks--the GDR also made progress in the cultural field. Relations with Finland played an important role then. The republic of Finland was the first, and for a long time the only, capitalist country which took the existence of two German states for granted. That attitude also showed in its willingness for cultural exchange. Finnish artists stayed in the GDR, a Finnish graphic exhibit was shown, Finnish conductors accepted guest-conducting obligations, and Finnish students started their studies in the GDR in 1955,⁵ while from the GDR, for instance, the Dresden Kreuzchor performed in Helsinki and GDR athletes came to Finland.⁶ The GDR proposed further to develop the possibilities existing in the fields of music, movies and scientific exchange and also to exchange journalists and books.⁷

Early on, the GDR paid attention to its relationship with France. In a letter to the president of the French republic, Rene Coty, President Wilhelm Pieck emphasized in 1954 that for an understanding between the two states, the "development of economic and cultural relations" was "of great importance."⁸ There were contacts on the social level, with associations like the Heinrich Heine Circle, the Mendelssohn Circle, or the Architects' Committee. French teachers and architects came to the GDR, contacts were established with publishing houses and book dealers, and DEFA produced two films together with Unifrance ("Tyl Ulenspiegel" and the "Witches of Salem").

Also in dealing with Great Britain, the GDR in 1956 explicitly indicated its readiness for cultural relations and emphasized the positive role of the exchange of artists, writers and journalists.⁹

In 1955, the GDR applied for admission to UNESCO, the specialized UN organization for education, science and culture. At the instigation of the FRG, at that time the GDR still found itself turned down.¹⁰

Stronger cultural relations also developed with Italy, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and Austria during the second half of the 1950's. Contacts with the Scandinavian countries played a special role. Those precisely were the countries where the peace movement found strong support. Democratic forces were fighting against the abuse of the Baltic as a military deployment area for NATO. The slogan, "The Baltic Must Be a Sea of Peace," which the GDR had coined in 1957, therefore found a positive response in those countries. In 1957 the GDR proposed that all countries adjacent to the Baltic should sign bilateral or multilateral agreements which, along with outlawing aggressive acts, also provided for a broad development of scientific and cultural collaboration. Through the Baltic Weeks, held regularly for many years since 1958, and especially their cultural and art programs in which delegations from all Scandinavian countries took part, the GDR lent important impulses to the cultural exchange between socialist and capitalist states.

Through the continued change in the balance of power in favor of the forces of peace, progress and socialism, the conditions for normalizing interstate relations gradually improved in the 1960's. The possibilities resulting therefrom entailed new tasks for the development of cultural foreign relations.

The Sixth SED Congress in 1963 made a point of that the GDR was promoting "the development of international cooperation in trade, sports, culture, science and technology" and regarded "peoples' friendship and the respect for the culture and achievements of any other nation as inviolable principles of GDR foreign policy."¹¹ Carrying on with the socialist cultural revolution and its basic cultural tasks, which the party congress had decided on, in intellectually molding the people of socialist society and the development of socialist national culture, simultaneously established prerequisites for enhancing the social and cultural radiation from the GDR.

An important function in this fell there to the Peoples' Friendship League, which had been founded in 1961. It supplemented the various activities of a number of social organizations in the GDR in propagating cultural values of other nations by its activity abroad. The purpose of the League, to establish friendly relations with the nations in the world and thereby inform them about life in the GDR, included fostering cultural contacts on the social plane. It led to the exchange of creators of culture, exhibitions and movie presentations, language courses, the setting up of reading rooms, clubs, culture and information centers, as in Helsinki in 1960 and in Stockholm in 1967, and the publishing of journals. The need to know more about the GDR in many capitalist countries led to the founding of many national friendship societies that would collaborate with the League. These societies, joint by democratic personalities from all domains of public life, made an effective contribution to breaking down the imperialist blockade and to the diplomatic recognition of the GDR by disseminating a realistic picture of the first socialist German state and its social and cultural accomplishments.

In the 1960's too the GDR, while developing cultural relations, had to come to grips with many different obstacles put up by the imperialist states. For instance, through arbitrary measures, in violation of international law, taken by the Allied Travel Bureau in West Berlin, influenced by the FRG government, the GDR's culture and science exchange also became confined. Ensembles were denied entry visas to some countries, and artists, scientist and athletes were kept waiting, their suitcases packed. International cultural events also were affected by such acts of discrimination. The GDR was barred from many congresses, festivals and exhibitions.

In the mid-1960's the socialist states in Europe developed new initiatives to surmount the Cold War. In the declaration adopted in 1966 by the political consultative commission of the Warsaw Pact member states on consolidating peace and security in Europe, the socialist states proposed a program oriented to the recognition of the real situation in Europe and the development of extensive collaboration. The GDR's international recognition was an essential precondition for it. Together with the fraternal states, the GDR developed activities for promoting this process. In a proposal directed at all European states in the same year, it pleaded for normalizing relations in all fields of political, economic and cultural life, cultivating the humanistic tradition common to the European peoples, and enriching their cultural legacy through new achievements. Then the GDR could rely on the fact that, as the then Foreign Minister Otto Winzer declared in 1966, capitalist countries also were coming to recognize and appreciate more and more the GDR's scientific and cultural achievements.¹²

In the second half of the 1960's many capitalist countries gradually began to reconsider their position on the GDR. Influential circles increasingly started to consider the need to accept the GDR as a state and establish normal relations with it. The international campaign for recognizing the GDR under international law increased in scope.¹³ Recognition committees and more friendship societies, in which creators of culture played an important role, were formed. The GDR in turn had declared its willingness to proceed step by step in establishing normal relations.¹⁴

The Seventh SED Congress in 1967 announced: "In the phase preparatory to full normalization, interstate relations, especially in trade, the economy, science, culture, communal concerns and sports, are going to play an increasing role."¹⁵

Cultural relations on the social and commercial plane developed positively in particular with Finland, Sweden, Cyprus, France, Italy, Belgium and Austria. The "perimeter" for normal state relations was reached in the cultural sphere too. In 1969 and 1970, protocols were signed, the first interstate agreements, with Finland and Cyprus, on collaborating in culture, education and science, and so was an agreement, likewise in 1970, with Denmark, on radio and television exchange and cooperation. The GDR also advocated establishing relations between theaters, museums, universities, artists associations and public health institutions. That, however, was still being opposed by

capitalist states under FRG pressure. The expansion of cultural and scientific contacts, nevertheless, could no longer be blocked. For more and more intellectuals, artists and parliamentarians, the GDR became an attractive country. More and more GDR artists and scientists were invited to guest performances, tours and congresses in capitalist countries.

Cultural international high points in the GDR, among others, were the 150th birthday of Karl Marx in 1968, the 20th anniversary of the founding of the GDR in 1969, the Beethoven and the Hegel Congresses in 1970, and the Third Music Biennial in 1970. More than 1,000 scientists from capitalist countries visited the GDR in 1970, and equally many from the GDR traveled to those countries. In those days, directly preceding the worldwide recognition of the GDR, its ensembles and artists gave special boost to the friendship and recognition movement. In 1970, the Leipzig Gewandhaus played at the Humanite Press Festival in Paris and in Great Britain and Belgium. A year later, the Berlin Ensemble, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune, thrilled its audience on the Seine. Manfred Weckwerth staged "Coriolanus" in London, Gisela May toured the United States for 3 weeks, and the German State Opera went on tour through Italy.

With the turning from Cold War to detente on the European continent, the diplomatic blockade against the GDR collapsed. The five-point program decided on at the Eighth SED Congress, orienting to the normalization of GDR relations with all states in the world and its partnership in the UN system, was brought to realization step by step. In 1972, the GDR became a member of UNESCO and established diplomatic relations with many capitalist states, so that by 1973 it maintained such relations with more than 100 states. That also offered new prospects for the development of cultural relations. Given its experiences in developing its socialist educational system and a socialist national culture, and in using the mass media for peace and international friendship, the GDR's contribution to the work of UNESCO could be no other than constructive. In bilateral relations, negotiations now began on signing cultural and scientific collaboration agreements on a state level, to provide cultural exchange with a stable basis.

The agreement with the republic of Cyprus in 1973 was the first official state agreement on cultural and scientific collaboration signed with a capitalist country. Considering that the CSCE Final Act marked the signing of bilateral and multilateral agreements as essential for extending the cultural relations among the participating states, the GDR then offered draft agreements to other states as well. It was found, however, that contractual arrangements for cultural relations with capitalist states would continue to amount to lengthy processes, with respect to some of them. In spite of that, by taking a constructive approach in the negotiations between 1975 and 1979, the GDR succeeded in reaching agreements with Finland, Denmark, Norway, Japan, Austria, Spain, Iceland and Great Britain, based on the principles of sovereignty, equality and noninterference in the domestic affairs of the other state. With Belgium and the Netherlands, cultural agreements of this sort were initialed.

Because of the increasing participation by the capitalist countries' broad people's masses in the struggle for peace, disarmament and social progress and the thereby increased need for information by broad circles in those states, cultural relations also increased in scope and importance on the social plane. Thus the press festivals of the fraternal parties or the events sponsored by the friendship societies often also offered opportunities to GDR creators of culture to present the achievements of the GDR. In countries like France, Italy, Portugal, Japan, Finland and Sweden, GDR Weeks, GDR Culture Days or GDR Music Days were held. The artists associations also took initiatives to establish contacts with the relevant institutions, and they are promoting the exchange of delegations, information, artists and exhibits. The Visual Artists Association of the GDR, for example, has contractual relations with associations in Finland and France and close contacts with others, in Italy, Portugal and Spain.

Also in the commercial field cultural relations took an upswing. Ensembles and soloists in music, theater, opera and the arts went abroad, on the basis of agreements with capitalist agencies, or were received in the GDR. Many countries showed great interest in becoming acquainted with the GDR's artistic achievements, especially after the long years of the political-diplomatic blockade. In 1972, there were 22 ensembles of the GDR that went to capitalist countries, in 1978, there were 33 celebrating successes especially at Music Days, GDR Weeks and international festivals. At the same time, a constantly larger number of ensembles and soloists as well as artists and groups in the music entertainment field came to the GDR. And they are granted a type of publicity by the mass media, radio and television, to an extent the capitalist countries are not likely to grant to our artists.

For some time, however, the commercial handling of artists exchange has increasingly been running into difficulties. Because of increasing expense and inflation, connected with the reduction in government subsidies, the signing of certain contracts frequently meets with complications. And then there are other burdens, like delays in the granting of visas or bureaucratic obstacles, for instance in getting the work permits for visiting artists, which often are the condition for their performing. And finally there are attempts being made to let socialist artists appear only outside the political and cultural centers in any of those countries, to hold down their effectiveness.

Cultural relations with foreign capitalist countries are developing in various fields. The most extensive field is that of "Culture and Art," which embraces mainly artistic exchange in the more narrow sense and, by and large, the commercially implemented exchange of ensembles and soloists in the various genres of art. The whole variety of what is being sent from and received in the GDR may here be suggested by a few high points in which many GDR theaters and orchestras took part. For example, the Music Days in Japan in 1974 for the first time extensively demonstrated in a capitalist country how the GDR carries on its classical musical heritage and what its contemporary music-making is like. Three ensembles gave 41 performances before an audience of 80,000 in 33 different Japanese cities, and 16 soloists gave 86 concerts.

That also was the year when the Leipzig Gewandhaus went on its first U.S. tour. Another big one would come in 1978. And then in 1974, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the GDR, the Dresden Philharmonic went to the FRG and played in Bonn's Beethoven-Halle on 7 October. GDR Music Days were also held in Italy and France in 1976. The Music Days in the Paris region were the biggest demonstration of GDR music-making in France since the German State Opera had been there in 1973. In 1977, the Gewandhaus made its seventh tour to Great Britain (since 1958) and its sixth to Italy. In turn, the GDR, in 1977, among others, hosted the Tokyo Metropolitan Orchestra and the French Chamber Orchestra and in 1978, the Royal Stockholm Opera, the Vienna Chamber Orchestra, the Netherlands Residence Orchestra and the Vienna Saengerknaben.

Art exhibits held a prominent position. In 1975 and 1976, the GDR sent out 49 exhibitions and participated by 382 loan items to events abroad. This also shows a broad palette and ranges from smaller traveling exhibits of reproductions up to representative presentations of the artistic legacy and the visual arts of the GDR. The outstanding one was the impressive exhibition of 700 works of art from the Dresden state art collections shown in 1978 and 1979 in the United States, thrilling over 1.5 million visitors in Washington, New York and San Francisco and causing enthusiastic reviews in the bourgeois press. Unique also was the show put together in 1978 from works of Vienna's Albertina and Dresden's Kupferstichkabinett. The GDR in turn hosted, for example, "French Posters of Three Decades" (1974), a Danish design exhibit (1976), "Political Posters" from Sweden (1977), photographs of the well-known North-American artist Paul Strand (1978), "Photographs in Science and Technology" from the FRG (1977), and "U.S. Industrial Design" also in 1978.

The exchange of feature films and documentaries is something else the GDR considers an important factor for the nations to become acquainted with one another. The situation here is unsatisfactory, however, as in many other areas, for the GDR's openness often runs into lack of interest on the part of the capitalist partners. In 1975 and 1976, for instance, the GDR accepted 23 feature films from France but France, only three from the GDR. In the feature film exchange with the United States the ratio is twenty to one in favor of the GDR. The GDR furthermore sponsors regular film weeks, for French films, for instance, in 1972 and 1978, Danish films (1976), Swiss films (1977), and American films (1978). In recent years the GDR has been able to mount film weeks in some capitalist countries, but often only after great difficulties with the distributors there, which just do not want to guarantee a representative showing of GDR movies.

Books are the most traditional means used for enhancing international understanding. By means of its licensing policy, the GDR insures diversified stocks containing all the different humanistic and progressive works of world literature--from the classic authors to the contemporary ones. In 1976, the GDR published 5,955 titles, of which 890 came out of the capitalist states that had attended CSCE. By comparison, those states acquired from the GDR in 1975 and 1976 only 284 and 344 titles respectively. That means the GDR in those 2 years alone got far more than twice the number of book licenses from those states than they got from the GDR. Nor has anything

significant changed in this imbalance in 1977 or 1978. Attention here is also given to translations from the less well-known languages. The GDR takes part regularly in international book fairs and sales promotion exhibits.

Theater programs also have an active policy demonstrating how open-minded the GDR is. The 1975/1976 theater season, for instance, includes 270 stage plays by contemporary authors or composers of 13 different capitalist countries. While, on the one side, a much smaller number of works from the GDR are put on in capitalist countries, the interests shown by stages and partly also acting schools in Western foreign countries, on the other side, are growing. They seek to engage GDR directors or conductors as the authentic interpreters of contemporary socialist works and, above all, of our international artistic legacy. Good ties exist with theaters in Northern Europe, Switzerland (there were 10 guest director commitments in 1976) and Austria (1977/1978: seven such commitments). GDR directors also have already staged plays in the United States and the FRG.

Another extensive field is that of "science and education." That includes the cooperation among academic institutions, public education institutions, vocational training and science academies in the various fields.

In 1978, the GDR had concluded in this area with the specialized ministries or the institutions under them in other states circa 400 special agreements. Among the partners included were Finland, France, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Austria and the United States. The GDR Academy of Sciences, for example signed such agreements with the academies in Sweden (1972 and 1977), Finland (1977), the United States and Italy (both in 1978) and Great Britain (1979). These agreements pertain to the exchange of information and scientists and to cooperation in basic research, mainly in the natural sciences. There are close working contacts with France, Denmark and Austria. Here too the Academy is seeking agreements. In 1975 an agreement was signed, which has stood up well, between the GDR Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs and the U.S. International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX). This agreement, which handles the exchange of scientists between both countries, has been twice extended in 1977 and 1979. This also serves the signing of agreements among the universities, which the GDR has been promoting for many years. In 1977, there were 10 universities and technical schools in the GDR that had such agreements with 30 educational institutions in France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Finland, Sweden and Austria. At that time approximately 1,000 GDR scientists visited capitalist states, and 1,800 from the capitalist states came to the GDR.

An important field within this area is the cooperation in languages. The centerpiece for it is the work by GDR Germanists at foreign institutions (universities, schools, and culture and information centers) and the hosting of foreign lecturers who usually come to the GDR on the basis of their university relations. GDR lecturers today are working in Finland, Sweden, France, Great Britain and Portugal. And furthermore, the international academic vacation courses sponsored annually in the GDR offer foreign participants the opportunity for training in German. These courses were attended by 500 participants from capitalist states in 1978.

Also in the field of public education, the GDR has broad contacts. Exchanging textbooks, pedagogical documentation and information with its partners' ministries, pedagogical facilities and schoolbook publishing houses is practiced widely. Pedagogues come for language courses and other studies to the GDR while representatives of our public education system give lectures in foreign capitalist countries on the GDR's socialist educational system. Regularly, the GDR is sponsoring international language camps for secondary school pupils from France. Delegations from the various ministries are also being exchanged with France, Great Britain, Finland, Sweden and others.

Finally there is a growing interest shown by capitalist countries in the achievements of socialist vocational training. Cultural agreements provide for pertinent contacts, with Finland, Denmark and Norway, concerned with an exchange of delegations for mutual information and the sponsoring of seminars. Such contacts also exist with Sweden and Austria.

Cooperation in radio and television also helps the dispensation of cultural values. The GDR is promoting working agreements among radio and television organizations, news agencies and journalists associations. ADN now has contractual agreements on the exchange of news services with many news agencies in capitalist states, like UPI, AP, AFP, Reuters, DPA and APA. GDR television has contractual contacts with television stations in Denmark, Austria, France, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Italy, Portugal, Japan and Spain. Still more extensive are the contractual relations of GDR broadcasting. Working contracts have been signed with most of the European radio stations. The GDR Journalists Association has extensive contacts. In the 1970's, contracts were signed with the journalists associations in Belgium, France, Finland, Italy, Sweden and others. The contract terms stimulate an extensive exchange of information and program materials. This promotes our becoming better acquainted with one another.

But even in this field there still is a considerable imbalance. While, for instance, GDR television shows French, Italian and U.S. films regularly, GDR films are rarely seen over the television stations in those countries. GDR broadcasting likewise transmits an average of three to four times as many programs from Western stations than vice versa. The GDR advocates sponsoring so-called "weeks" or "days" of any other country on the basis of reciprocity. Under the pretext that such extensive showings of GDR programs would exceed what audiences in capitalist countries are interested in, the representatives of capitalist radio and television corporations all too frequently are working against this matter of exchange for mutual advantage. Events such as the GDR documentary film week on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR coming over the private Italian television station Video Uno in July 1979 are still more an exception.

The development of sports relations is of great interest to the GDR. The worldwide reputation of GDR sports has brought it about that in this field too, bilateral and multilateral contacts took a big boost after 1973. Between 1973 and 1976, more than 65,000 athletes were exchanged for competitions with

65 organizations and institutions of other countries. In this matter too, the GDR advocates a more stable foundation for such contacts. With sports organizations in Sweden, Finland and Italy there are friendship treaties, with others, including Austria, the Netherlands, Japan, Denmark and the FRG, protocols or annual schedules. On the basis of these accords, the GDR in 1975 and 1976 jointly sponsored ten sports events with Italy, six with both Denmark and Finland, and four with the Netherlands.

Finally, an area of increasing importance lies in the cooperation in public health, environment and social welfare. Right now the GDR maintains public health agreements with six capitalist states.

Thirty years of cultural foreign relations illuminate that the GDR, despite the long years of imperialist blockade, and despite its being frustrated and discriminated against, has unflinchingly and successfully enforced its constructive concept on the collaboration among states with differing social systems also in the field of culture, so as to use also cultural relations as a factor of peace, understanding and intellectual enrichment. The worldwide recognition of the GDR provided new possibilities for it which are being attacked in various ways. Cultural foreign relations have helped improve the political climate, bring the nations closer together and, with it, strengthen the reputation of socialism. That enabled Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann to state at the Ninth SED Congress: "Recognition and applause for ensembles and orchestras, directors, actors and singers, exhibitions and films from the GDR, in New York, Paris or Tokyo, in Zurich, Vienna, Bonn or even West Berlin, not only mean a well deserved appreciation for fine achievements--they at the same time also are, willy-nilly, recognition and respect for the cultural state of the GDR, for the ideas of humanity and for real socialism. It has gotten us sympathy and friendship from not a few people in many countries on our globe. By means of our socialist culture we are also demonstrating our solidarity with the anti-imperialist, progressive and humanistic forces struggling for a peaceful world."¹⁶

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Hager, "Ergebnisse und Aufgaben unserer sozialistischen Kulturpolitik" (Results and Tasks of Our Socialist Cultural Policy), Berlin, 1975, p 43.
2. For the history of GDR foreign policy, cf. W. Haenisch, "The Foreign Policy and the International Relations of the GDR in the Main Phases of its Development," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Berlin, 1979, Nos 3-6.
3. "Dokumente zur Aussenpolitik der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" (GDR Foreign Policy Documents), Vol II, Berlin, 1955, p 519, and Vol III, Berlin, 1956, p 643.
4. W. Pieck, "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol II, Berlin, 1952, p 44.
5. Cf. "Dokumente . . .," op. cit., Vol II, p 519, Vol III, p 643.

6. Ibid., Vol III, p 643.
7. Ibid., Vol II, p 519.
8. Ibid., Vol II, p 508.
9. Ibid., Vol III, p 686.
10. For the GDR's participation in UNESCO, cf. W. Kleinwaechter and F. Raaz, "Thirty Years UNESCO," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Berlin, 1976, No 12, pp 1821 ff; F. Raaz and W. Kleinwaechter, "GDR and UNESCO," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER KARL MARX UNIVERSITAET LEIPZIG, GESELLSCHAFTS- UND SPRACHWISSENSCHAFTLICHE REIHE, 1979, No 5, pp 571 ff.
11. "Revolutionaere deutsche Parteiprogramme," Berlin, 1967, pp 253-254.
12. Cf. "Dokumente . . .," op. cit., Vol XIV, 1st semi-volume, Berlin, 1970, pp 45-74.
13. Cf. "Geschichte der SED" (SED History), Berlin, 1978, p 543.
14. Cf. W. Haenisch, op. cit., No 5, p 43.
15. "Dokumente . . .," op. cit., Vol XV, 1st semi-volume, Berlin, 1970, p 105.
16. "Protokoll des IX. Parteitages der SED" (Ninth SED Congress Proceedings), Berlin, 1976, Vol I, pp 364 f.

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WEST GERMAN ANALYSES: GDR'S TWO NATION-LANGUAGE CONCEPT DEBATED

Nation-Nationality Concept

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 1 Oct 79 p 6

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum, Berlin: "'Deutschland' Comes Back Into Vogue: The Subject of Nation Comes Up on the 30th Anniversary of the GDR's Establishment." The two East Berlin EINHEIT articles (Sep-Oct 79) cited below are available in a recent JPRS issue of this series as follows: Article by Erich Honecker, translated under the heading: "GDR Leaders Review National Achievements, Prospects on 30th Anniversary--Honecker: Socioeconomic Achievements"; by Professors Alfred Kosing and Walter Schmidt, "Nation Versus Nationality Concept Analyzed." For an earlier discussion of the nation/national language problem, see JPRS 67657, 27 Jul 76, No 1273 of this series, pp 5-23]

[Text] "Can you tell me what that is supposed to mean?" the border guard asks the correspondent of FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU while pointing to the census card which, like all visitors to the GDR, every reporter accredited in the GDR must complete. The guard's inquiry concerned two capital letters which I had entered after my name, date of birth, place of birth, place of residence and passport number, in the appropriate square "nationality": "DT." My reply "Deutsch" [German], "I merely abbreviated the word," did not surprise the border guard, but he said: "I cannot accept that because the word 'deutsch' is not written in capitals." "So what are we going to do?"--"In fact you need not put anything in this square. As you see FRG is already preprinted."--"Does that mean I always have to put down whatever my passport says?"--Your passport says Deutscher, and that is something else." I showed my amazement. "This is what we are going to do now," he said, took his ballpoint and neatly, in small letters only, wrote the word "deutsch" in the square, before I was able to suggest that he might consider the two capital letters "DT" an abbreviation of "Deutscher."

Though the guard finally solved the self-created problem by resolutely grasping his ballpoint--the incident documents the difficulties of the Unity Party in the second German state when handling such terms as "deutsch,"

"Deutschland" and concepts such as nation and nationality. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR's establishment the GDR press is once again preoccupied with the problem of the nation and even the formerly prohibited word "Deutschland" is back in vogue. In the early years after World War II which ended with the annihilation of national socialism on German soil, the SED had no doubt whatsoever that the German nation continued to exist in Germany. The text of the GDR national anthem, derived from a poem written in Moscow by Johannes R. Becher in 1943, therefore runs: "Resurrected from ruins and looking to the future, let us serve you in a good cause, Germany, our united fatherland." By now, though, GDR school children no longer know the words of the anthem; the textbooks only show the music--a national anthem to be hummed.

Earlier than the responsible Federal German politicians the rulers of the GDR recognized that it had become impossible to maintain the claim of sole representation for all Germans--once made in the GDR also. When, in the course of detente, hope reared its head in the GDR for a new all-German development, the SED reacted by striking the word "Deutschland" from the official vocabulary. The "Deutschlandsender" [German Transmitter] was renamed "Voice of the GDR." The letter "D" for "Deutsch" disappeared even from the list of abbreviations and, when at that time the Leipzig "Hotel Deutschland" was renamed "Hotel on the Ring," a Leipzig newspaper managed to produce the following sentence: "The hotel on the Ring will in future be called 'Hotel on the Ring'." To this day, though, whenever an East German television announcer speaks of the "Democratic Women's League of Germany" using the acronym "DFD," every GDR citizen knows that the second D stands for Deutschland. Because: However sweeping the authorities were in their eradication of the word "Deutschland" from the official vocabulary, they did not interfere with the abbreviated names of parties and mass organizations: The "D" in SED continues to signify Deutschland as well as the second "D" in LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] or NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany], the liberal and national bloc parties in the GDR. The SED central organ also kept its name NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary the magazine EINHEIT, devoted to the doctrine and practice of scientific socialism and published by the SED Central Committee, surprised its readers with a totally unexpected picture on the front page. Next to the GDR emblem--a wreath of corn with hammer and sickle--and written in red on a white background are the words "the new, the socialist Germany." The phrase is taken from the article contributed by SED general secretary Erich Honecker. The complete sentence reads: "The GDR embodies the new, the socialist Germany." And it continues: "Generations of revolutionary workers, humanists and democrats, the fighters of the antifascist resistance, the best sons and daughters of our people had always dreamed of such a German state, it was for that they fought." It must be doubted whether the 1848 revolutionaries had imagined a state enacting penal laws like those of 1 August last.

For SED ideologues the German problem has long been settled; in the same issue of LINKEIT Professors Alfred Kosing and Walter Schmidt of the Academy for Social Sciences discuss postwar developments in Germany as follows: "From the former united capitalist nation emerged two German nations of opposing socio-history types. In this sense history decided the national issue."

This "unique historic development," the authors continue, allowed a socialist German nation to evolve in the GDR, while in the Federal Republic "the old link between capitalist society and German ethos remained in place." Disregarding the fact that it is not up to ideologues to decide what makes a nation, and that historic epochs are not so short as Kosing and Schmidt would like, they do not seem to be quite sure of their ground because they go on to proclaim ~~it~~ the "immensely significant ideological task" of the GDR to strengthen socialist German national consciousness among all classes and strata of our nation; in other words: The vaunted consciousness does not seem particularly firm.

According to them the "socialist German nation" differs from the former capitalist German nation and the continuing capitalist German nation in the Federal Republic by the "thoughts and feelings and will of the people." But this is precisely what is lacking in the GDR. The thoughts, feelings and will of a majority of GDR citizens are so strongly aligned with West Germany as to surprise many a visitor from the Federal Republic. It is not an accident either that only last week NEUES DEUTSCHLAND once more compared GDR economic development with that of the Federal Republic and reached conclusions astounding to many experts. If they were to limit their comparisons to other Western countries, the GDR would look very much better.

For the time being the attempt seems to have failed to develop a separate GDR language by creating a new vocabulary. The bureaucratic German appearing day in day out in the newspapers tends to be so stilted that few GDR citizens use it in their daily lives. The barbed wire between Luebeck and Hof, the concrete barriers around West Berlin--though preventing many GDR citizens from expressing their thoughts and feelings--have not until now served as linguistic barriers. To list only some examples: The GDR use of the term "exponate" [exhibits] has long been part of the West German vocabulary, and the word "fetzig," coined by the student generation in West Germany in the late 1960's, has long since been adopted by GDR youth. Incidentally, GDR writers are accepted as German writers, and most consider themselves to be so.

The comment by a 25-year old GDR citizen on the chancellor candidacy of CSU chairman Franz Josef Strauss conspicuously underlines the thoughts and feelings of many citizens of the second German state: "Why," he asked, thinking of the new GDR penal code in effect since 1 August of this year, "why should you really have it any better than us?"

Contradictory Linguistic Theories

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Oct 79 p 11

[Article by Prof Dr Horst Dieter Schlosser, Frankfurt/Main: "Language Is Not an Instrument of 'Abgrenzung': The Linguistic Theories From the GDR Are Contradictory." Two articles by the below-cited GDR academician, Prof Guenter Feudel, are available in the following JPRS issues of this series, translated under the indicated headings: "Research Developments in Marxist-Leninist Linguistics," 68736, 7 Mar 77, No 1361, pp 13-20; and "Joint GDR-Soviet Linguistic Research Discussed," 65924, 14 Oct 75, No 1146, pp 1-3. For additional related information see the following JPRS issues of this series: On ideology in linguistic research, 70803, 20 Mar 78, No 1514, pp 62-69 and 64957, 10 Jul 75, pp 42-53; on concern over language depreciation 69568, 8 Aug 77, No 1428, pp 38-40 and 66216, 25 Nov 75, No 1163, pp 14-18]

[Text] The united German nation is dead; how could there possibly be a common German national language? This might well be the summary of the thoughts uttered with increasing intensity since 1974 (at the latest) by GDR linguists. Thirty years after the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR, that is on the occasion of another "anniversary" of German partition, it seems appropriate to examine the success or lack of it with regard to this new attempt at "Abgrenzung."

When we read Federal German publications on this topic or talk to lay linguists it appears that there is such a thing as a linguistic partition. The differences in the usage of important words seem all too unequivocal, and all too great the difference between that which is to be achieved by the use of the German language in East and West. Reiner Kunze, for example, who lived and wrote in the GDR until 1977, said apropos the filming of his "Wunderbare Jahre" [Wonderful Years] that only someone who had grown up in the GDR could reproduce the sound and the choice of words of GDR citizens. That was one of the reasons why Kunze was appointed the director of his own movie.

We must judge the arguments of GDR linguists by their claims if--in sometimes surprising agreement with analyses on this side--they question the possibly last important community between the peoples of the two German states. I am not going to more closely examine the superficial and, in historical terms, short-range concept many of our contemporaries hold of the potential and limits of the "German nation" idea. Anybody accepting in toto the political constrictions of this idea in the 19th and 20th centuries necessarily suppresses the major part of German history, when the German nation was in fact "no more than" a cultural and linguistic community persisting side by side with and despite the existence of many German states.

Due largely to their close links with doctrines preached by Soviet linguists, GDR linguistics must work with a concept of a German national language, which

makes sense only if it meets socio-historical and linguistic criteria. It will not do, therefore, merely to note social differences in East and West. Fundamental linguistic changes must be added if a real split is to be proclaimed in that language which had developed as a national language from the linguistic fragmentation of medieval Germany long before political unity in the modern meaning.

Given the fact of their dialects, the Swiss and the Austrians would be genuinely entitled to proclaim a special linguistic awareness. So far neither of them has as crudely as GDR linguists questioned the linguistic community with Germany. We must assume, therefore, that GDR scientists are bound to have good and sufficient reasons for imagining that the latest special political development of the German nation has so much explosive strength.

Guenter Feudel of the East Berlin Academy of Sciences is the translator of the basic Soviet study on the evolution of the German national language. It was he of all people who failed, at the 1977 congress of linguists in Vienna (attended by people from all over the world), to submit persuasive evidence of changes in the linguistic system of the German language in the GDR. Similar to studies by West German and GDR analysts before him, his lecture dealt mainly with short lived phenomena. The German language of the GDR, Feudel claimed, reflects social progress especially by stressing a socio-political and technical vocabulary. However, this thesis still lacks empirical proof. As long as we do not have more precise and quantifiable data, his argument must be considered less than plausible. The evidence he quotes applies only to an area of language which is common to all modern communities of communication: Technical jargon. It is quite true, and we must note this as a real difference from the Federal Republic, that technical jargon is used extensively in the "official" language of the GDR, especially by the mass media. Newspapers and broadcasting in the GDR tend far more than FRG media to employ highly sophisticated technical language. The following three examples are taken from the respective first pages of various newspapers published on 13 August 1979: "A novel process to harden wormdrives for numerically controlled machine tools has done well in the last 7 months.." (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND); "One of the most important assignments of the Berlin Automated Refrigeration VEB is the punctual assembly and equipment with the most modern refrigeration machinery of the ROS 313, a fishing and processing ship for the Rostock fishing combine..." (BERLINER ZEITUNG); "A new loading head with a radiometric device for measuring filling status..." (HZ AM ABEND).

It is impossible here to decide in how far such reports meet with greater comprehension from readers in the GDR than comparable reports in Federal German newspapers. Empirical studies on the intelligibility of our newspaper language constantly disclose an appalling discrepancy between the need to inform and the reader's ability to absorb that information. Is the state of affairs really all that different in the GDR? Still, this external difference between linguistic communication in the GDR and the Federal

Republic should not be downplayed. Whether this is or is not realistic, the official use of language in the GDR presumes a citizen more familiar with scientific, technical and economic affairs than does the corresponding use of language in the FRG. That, however, is not a linguistic difference in the narrower sense; it is actually a communicative difference. In other words: In the GDR official political and cultural educational goals more directly affect the official use of language than is the case in the Federal Republic. Still, the empirical material is not sufficient for us to ascertain whether this implies longer range consequences also for non-official language, that is the speech used within the circle of family and friends. Various observations of everyday speech in the GDR tend to negate any such assumption.

I must also point to the lesson taught by linguistic history, according to which cultural progress is reflected in everyday language to a very slight degree only--if at all--(both in the West and the East we still speak of the sun rising and setting, though it would be scientifically more accurate to use these terms for the earth). Short lived phenomena such as technical discoveries, quickly superseded, have only a very slight chance of being permanently incorporated into the vocabulary of a linguistic community.

In this context we must especially call into question the efficacy of the acronyms beloved by the official German of the GDR (LPG for agricultural producer cooperative, NVA for National People's Army, and so on and so forth), although analysts here and in the GDR repeatedly cite these as characteristics of a linguistic split. While the book includes a voluminous register of acronyms, rule 196 of the Leipzig edition of the "Duden" [German dictionary] warned as long ago as 1970: "We should not allow a veritable language of acronyms to take hold. The oft quoted 'gain of time' is obtained at too high a cost in language mutilation, language depreciation and frequent incomprehensibility." In fact more and more often we see the quasi-official self-descriptive acronym "GDR" replaced in written and oral media texts by either the full title German Democratic Republic or such terms as "this" or "our republic." (Incidentally, with us also it is more and more in vogue to talk of "this republic"--meaning the Federal Republic of Germany.)

In the meantime many political and cultural "achievements" of the GDR, much touted at the time of their introduction into official communications, have been dropped both in linguistic and factual terms. The Eastern "Duden" of 1970 already lacked the following words: Self-sustaining evolution, self-sustainment theory, 'new farmer,' Hennecke shift or Hennecke movement (though the Soviet model for above-assignment labor, the Stakhanov movement, was still listed). Missing acronyms included, among others, "Aub" (for combinations with "workers and farmers"), MAS [agricultural machinery leasing station], and so on.

Let us point out such amendments without malice or irony. They involve a natural process of change, which is not confined to the GDR though it ought to be denied there. After all, the doctrine of the increasing permeation

by "scientific terminology, the revolutionary ideology of the working class" of the spoken and written language (Feudel) claims more than short-term and changeable effects of the technical world on linguistic usage in the GDR.

We have lately had abundant proof of the "conservatism" ruling language in the GDR also--unless we constantly examine it for ideological "nuances." The occasion was a commentary by Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler in the East Berlin HZ AM ABEND of 13 August 1979. There he spoke as a matter of course of "Abfallprodukte" [waste products], though the term used currently by GDR technologists is "Abprodukte." Further on in the same commentary Schnitzler committed what amounts to a mortal sin involving the commandment cherished at least by hypercritical spirits here, according to which the responsible party must always be linguistically defined in any political context. He wrote that "World War II broke out on 1 September 1939." Even such a prominent representative of the official GDR language therefore deviates in details (though these are not unimportant) from basic convictions of GDR linguistics, according to which the new political, social and economic situation must needs change the language also.

GDR media furnish more evidence for the relative invulnerability of a common linguistic system. By contrast the "Abgrenzung linguistics" had affirmed it quite possible that one fine day Germans from East and West would not be able to manage without translation aids. As far back as 1962 the West German publication of an American MA dissertation had explicitly expressed the fear that "...some day it may happen that the representatives of West Germany and Soviet Germany will need an interpreter when meeting at the conference table." (E.G. Rienschneider, "Changes in the German Language in the Soviet Zone of Occupation in Germany since 1945," p 5).

The East Berlin NEUE BERLINER ILLUSTRIERTE, No 33 of August 1979, carried a report on successful probation aid given by work collectives to fellow workers who had run foul of the law. The report included extracts from the letters of a prison inmate to his collective. Disregarding a few and inevitable sprinklings from official linguistic usage, these letters could easily have been written here. Mentioned are the consequences of a broken marriage ("I have now managed somehow to come to terms with the fact of the divorce"), anxiety about what will happen when he comes out of prison ("once I get out of here..."), disappointment about the rejection of his appeal for early release ("though I am a little down, I'll get over it"), reports on daily events at work in the prison ("...so that I had to find a new workmate prepared to pull his weight"). All that is so much "normal everyday German" that we are bound to ask ourselves what are the supposed structural changes in the language of the average GDR citizen, occasioned by "real socialism," that is change involving not only the inevitable use of certain terms such as "collective," "brigade evening," "proxium," and so on.

Nor can we accept the argument Feudel used at the Vienna linguists congress to demonstrate the change in the GDR language: The advances made by colloquial speech due to the expansion of the "social basis" of GDR society. The

colloquial speech in the letters quoted is by no means alien to us. On the other hand we look in vain for colloquialisms in the media reports. In that quarter colloquial speech is hopelessly outclassed by the dry technical language used for political and economic reports.

The assertion of the advance of colloquial speech combines rather oddly with another and more important argument. In 1977 Feudel said: "In the GDR, following the abolition of educational privilege and the introduction of uniform socialist education, literary speech is gradually becoming the common property of the people as a whole; its social basis is substantially broadening." He goes on to say "that literary speech is loosening up 'colloquially,' in other words that, in its ongoing codification vital processes occurring in the spoken language enjoy greater consideration," a statement which is not really surprising, nor something special to the GDR.

It is positively touching to watch the efforts to discover some change in the linguistic system. In conclusion Feudel is quite unable to avoid certifying "some similar trends" in FRG and GDR developments. Nevertheless he forecasts that the development in the FRG is "likely to turn out rather different from that in the GDR." This does not exactly sound like profound conviction. In the subsequent discussion Feudel's audience in Vienna--by no means only Germans from the Federal Republic--certainly did not share this opinion. Yet, must we consider everything wrong, which was previously written about differences in linguistic development between West and East.

We may be quite certain that at least something is wrong: The methodological approach which is unable to decide whether to follow communication or formal linguistic criteria. Saddled with the concept of a German national language, GDR linguistics are dependent on both. At the same time Feudel's paper demonstrated something we have already observed in earlier studies such as that by Halle linguist Lerchner ("On the Specific Use of the German Language in the GDR and its Social Determination" in "Deutsch als Fremdsprache" [German as a Foreign Language], 1974): Simply an uncertain mixture of both. The authors mentioned appeal to the fundamental social change which is said to have altered the GDR's communication structure by comparison to the Federal Republic. Both seek proof in the linguistic system and Lerchner especially almost exclusively finds his proofs in the vocabulary (rather like FRG analysts). Yet vocabulary by itself, especially that of official linguistic usage, does not mean the same thing as language. Feudel must have realized the weakness of this evidence. He says: "Does this mean that we are confronted with two German languages? Of course not...After all, large sections of the general vocabulary, grammar (and this should certainly be complemented by also and above all syntax), the rules for putting words together, and so on, continue to show no differences worth a mention."

Still, Feudel continues: "Yet we are also not entitled to speak of the unity of the German language." Why not? Feudel's reply is surprising: "Because there is no direct relation between the organization of society

and the language." And further on: "The replacement of various socioeconomic arrangements is not linked to any fundamental change in the linguistic system..., but is related to a qualitative change in the structure of existential linguistic forms, their social basis and their scope." Why then bother with proof of linguistic changes including the indications of changes in the literary language of the GDR (which are linguistically so little convincing), if the decisive distinction by comparison to the Federal Republic consists in the difference of communication policy which certainly does not require linguistic evidence?

Feudel tells us that the "core of the doctrine of the national language is ...the teaching of the nature and the role of the literary language (in the terminology of traditional Germanistics this signifies written or educated language) which acquires increasing significance with the evolution of the capitalist social system, the emergence of the nation within the structure of linguistic types of living, and finally achieves dominance." If this national language still persists--disregarding "differences hardly worth mentioning"--this doctrine certainly does not apply to the present day because the common language obviously continues to flourish regardless of different social conditions.

It is far more likely that the common language persists not only as an irrelevant communications shell but also as a linguistically uniform system independent of different political roles assigned it in different states and by different groups and individual users of the language. It is therefore able to achieve that which German educated or written language was able to do long before the constriction of the concept of the nation in the 19th and 20th centuries, specifically on the basis of its linguistic standardization: Direct communication between people speaking the same language, possibly also the conduct of serious controversies on the model of early polemics between Luther and his enemies and carried on in the newly invented common language. That this holds good for our time also is beautifully demonstrated by the successful foray of the German speaking members of the United Nations in 1975, following which important U.N. documents--though not for official purposes--are translated into German also (and not separately for the Federal Republic, the GDR, Austria or Switzerland either).

Proof of a continuing common national language is of course not a suitable basis for political agreement. It must be admitted that the political situation between the two German states--let us recall the "Abgrenzung" successes of the GDR in other fields--is now so unequivocal that even the GDR recognizes it does not need any additional moats in defense against any change in existing conditions. To dig such additional moats in the field of language obviously requires considerable effort and doctrinal breaks. So far history has not supplied any evidence that community, especially a common language, has tended to disrupt "peaceful coexistence."

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

SED-PORTUGUESE CP TALKS--On 31 October 1979 Kurt Seibt, chairman of the SED Central-Auditing Commission and president of the GDR Solidarity Committee, who is visiting Lisbon in order to participate in the world solidarity conference with the Arab peoples, met Sergio Vilarigues, member of the Political Commission and Central Committee secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, for a talk on cooperation between the two parties and international questions. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

COURSE FOR AFGHAN JOURNALISTS--Participants in a training course for progressive journalists--the first of its kind organized in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by the GDR Association of Journalists and the Afghan news Agency Bakhtar--received their diplomas after 6 weeks of studies of theoretical questions relating to socialist journalism. The course will now continue with practical exercises. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Nov 79 p 6 AU]

ACCORD WITH DANISH STUDENTS--An accord on friendship and cooperation in the struggle for peace and disarmament as well as for increased solidarity was signed between the FDG Central Council and the Central Committee of the Communist Students of Denmark on 2 November 1979 in Berlin for the years 1980-1981. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

SOLIDARITY SHIPMENT FOR MADAGASCAR--A GDR solidarity shipment was handed over by the secretary of the GDR Solidarity Committee Kurt Roth in Antananarivo on 3 November 1979. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

AGREEMENTS WITH VIETNAMESE UNIVERSITIES--Agreements on friendship and scientific cooperation between Dresden Technical University and Hanoi Polytechnical College, as well as between Berlin Humboldt University and Hanoi University, were concluded on 5 November 1979 in the Vietnamese capital and signed by the universities' directors, Dr Fritz Liebscher and Dr Phan Dong Dien, and Dr Helmut Klein and Dr Nguy Nhu Kong Tum, respectively. The documents provide, among other things, for the publication of a book entitled "The History of Vietnam." [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

FRENCH JOURNALIST CONDUCTS SURVEY OF RELIGION IN HUNGARY

Paris LE MONDE in French 17, 18 Oct 79

[Article by Alain Woodrow]

[17 Oct 79, p 9]

[Text] Cardinal Lekai, Archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary, returned home Tuesday, 16 October, after having paid an 11-day visit to Moscow at the invitation of Patriarch Pimene, head of the Russian Orthodox Church. This visit undoubtedly ties in more or less with the recent election of a Polish pope who, moreover, has made known his wish to speak in the name of Slav Christianity. Since then, Soviet authorities are devoting special attention to Christians inside their boundaries who practice the Catholic religion, particularly those in the Baltic republic and especially in Lithuania, which is for the most part Catholic.

Budapest—Nikita Khrushchev, at the time of his trip to Hungary in 1964, talked about this country's "Goulash socialism." The air one breathes in Budapest is lighter, more exotic than that in Prague, Bucharest, East Berlin and even in Warsaw. Hungary is not experiencing Czechoslovakia's political tensions, Romania's doctrinal severity, East Germany's rigid discipline or Poland's economic depression.

Not yet, at least. But the political, social and economic situation of this tiny country in the heart of Europe is precarious, and the full presence of Soviet troops on Hungarian soil since the revolt quashed in 1956, bears witness to "big brother's" continual concern for this key country, which has always been on the road taken by great invasions—Tartar, Turkish, German, Slav and Balkan—and which today forms a part of the "cordon sanitaire" around the Soviet Union.

The numerous tourists who elect to spend their holidays in Hungary—12 million last year in a population of 10.5 million!—are the most frequently surprised by the relative abundance. In commerce, which numbers a few small-scale concerns one can find almost everything from various brands of whisky and American cigarettes to luxury items imported from abroad. The food stores have everything—the long lines are a sad reminder of the 1960's—and the Hungarians eat and drink well and heartily.

The women are smartly dressed and in Budapest's streets, young people look the same as anywhere else in the world: long hair, jeans, mini-skirts... Next to the Hilton Hotel, housed in a carefully restored monastery, the famous Fisherman's Bastion, which overlooks the capital from the brow of Buda's verdant hills, offers the local traditions: the country's special delicacies seasoned with Hungarian gypsy folk music. The Vorosmarty Cafe, relic of the Austro-Hungarian empire, completely redone after the war according to its original decor, gilding and crystal chandeliers, delights the lover of fresh cream pastries served by waitresses just as alluring as in the grand old Vienna era.

Another surprise for the western traveler: the traffic jams in the capital's streets. Despite plentiful, inexpensive public transportation--buses, street cars, subways--private cars crowd Budapest. From 31,000 in 1960, the number of cars, the crowning symbol of the consumer, today in Hungary has grown to 800,000. According to statistics published in 1979, more than 70 percent of Hungarian households have a refrigerator, a washing machine, a radio and a television set.

Panem et circenses [bread and circuses]: The leading group charged with regaining control after 1956 understood that the best way to control the masses was to direct them toward consumer goods. After the purge and the consolidation of the new regime, Janos Kadar, clever strategist and skilled chess player, paved the way for the 1968 turning point, the beginning of the reign of the economists, which brought about the "economic miracle," and gave rise to the consumption mania at the beginning of the 1970's.

Now, this strategy is at present running into two obstacles. On the one hand, the Hungarian economy, outstandingly unstable since half of national revenue comes from foreign trade, finds itself threatened by the world crisis. On the other hand, the race for material goods produced just as much frustration as satisfaction, and Communist leaders have become aware of the fact, a bit late, that the "spiritual void" is also as disastrous for the party as for the Church, that the decrease in priestly vocations is on a par with a drop in recruitment for the party.

"Holy, But a Fanatic"

This spiritual void could be filled by the churches, if they knew how to go about it, for among the young people there is some interest, though limited, in religious question. "There are signs which are not misleading," a well-known historian told us. "On television I have noticed players who cross themselves before the game, or young singers, wearing a cross, who do not hesitate to speak spontaneously and publicly about their religion. That may seem to be a throwback to old customs, but I know young people who are attracted by mysticism, Buddhism. If Western movements, like 'the punks', the hippie sects and even the quacks have not yet arrived among us, we can say that youth is searching for an ideal which neither the party nor the churches have succeeded in giving them."

The same warning not came from Zoltan Kocsis, who, at 25 years of age is the most brilliant pianist in the younger generation. "Of course, I am a believer," he told us. "Like many of my friends in the musical set. I am a Catholic but not a practicing one; I prefer to discuss religion with my friends."

Estrangement from the Church is increasing, especially among youth, despite a weekly practice among Catholics, which is higher than in France: 20 to 25 percent. This distrust of ecclesiastical leaders is explained by the latter's allegiance to power. This attitude does not date from today. The Catholic Church since the 16th century has been allied with the ruling Hapsburg power against nationalists and Protestants. The allegiance of churchmen with political leaders is rather poorly recompensed in return--as Jean Marie Domenach describes it: "The Communist powers in Central Europe had only to take over from Josephinism"--but the operational margin was slight and the opposing forces unmatched.

Under Cardinal Mindszenty, the Catholic church tried to hold its own with the new masters, but the Realpolitik, both in the country and in the Vatican ended by getting the better of them. Here is how Mr Imre Miklos, undersecretary of state and president of the National Office of Cultural Affairs describes this attempt: "Immediately following the Second World War, the churches and particularly the leaders of the Catholic Church sided against this democratic transformation of the people, clearly expressing their refusal in a number of letters from bishops. We know that before the war, Hungary was known as the 'land of 3 million beggars:' it was in fact the country of farm workers without any land, where the most powerful property owner was precisely the Catholic church. This fact alone sufficed to explain why to promote agrarian reform we had to fight some very important ecclesiastical forces."

Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty, Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary, was the living symbol of these forces. According to Mr Gyorgy Aczel, vice president of the Council of Ministers, "Strong in the feudal tradition, and considering himself the first high dignitary of state, the Cardinal, at one and the same time, rose up against agrarian reform which was wiping out the regime of large property ownership, against the democratic republic, and against the separation of church and state.

Condemned to prison for life in 1949, the Cardinal was freed by rebels in 1956. He stated on the radio that he was placing himself at the country's disposal. "A holy man but a fanatic," some one who was confirmed by the Cardinal was to tell us. "The Church has lost a great deal because of Mindszenty's intransigence. He was used as an excuse for repression." For 15 years, shut up in his rooms at the American legation where he had sought asylum, the Primate, now helpless, was to follow the slow improvement in relations between church and state.

In 1964, the Hungarian government and the Vatican signed a partial agreement on the appointment of bishops and the return of the Hungarian Pontifical Institute in Rome to be administered by the Bishop's Conference. In 1968 new

negotiations took place in Rome with the Office of Church Affairs representative. The following year, the first appointment of bishops took place. In 1971, Cardinal Mindszenty left his country for exile in Austria, and 3 years later, Pope Paul VI relieved him of his high post as Archbishop of Esztergom. Two other series of appointments followed; then, last April, with the appointment of four new bishops, the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy was complete.

For a Mess of Potage

By agreeing, after all the others, "to normalize relations with the Communist regime, the Catholic Church has sold her birthright for a mess of potage? This is the opinion of one of our interlocutors, close to the hierarchy, according to whom "the Church has been humiliated, beheaded. It is a headless living organism, distinguished more by its mediocrity than by its laxity."

This severe judgment on the quality of churchmen--of all the churches in fact--was pronounced on several sides. On concluding agreements with different churches--Reformed, Lutheran, Catholic, Free Churches (Baptists, Adventists, Pentacostalists, Methodists, Assembly of God, Nazarenes, etc.) and the Jews--between 1948 and 1950, the country's leader succeeded in neutralizing, and in channeling their forces from disputes toward "useful" objectives: patriotism, international peace, family values, public morality..."

The state finally concluded that the churches are not dangerous and that they can even at times serve as allies. According to Sandor Kopacsi, former prefect of police in Budapest, arrested in 1956 for counter-revolutionary activities then freed in 1963, "the old Hapsburg method--divide and conquer--was known only too well by Communist leaders." They deal with each church individually while reinforcing their mutual distrust. Official ecumenism, so to speak, does not exist; then, within each religious persuasion they build up suspicion of the faithful toward the hierarchy with the privileges that they shower on the latter.

A Delayed-Action Bomb

The churches are being subsidized by the state: the high dignitaries receive a minister's salary and even the priests live in comfort with their national insurance and pensions paid by the state. As long as they do not step outside the strictly limited framework of activity, the churches can "operate:" celebrate the liturgy, teach catechism, administer the sacraments, train future priests and distribute a limited number of publications. But everything is organized from top to bottom, everything is planned, controlled. No initiative coming from beneath is tolerated and horizontal ties are discouraged.

"The conservatism of the Hungarian Catholic," observes the writer, Marc Rakovski, in the magazine *ESPRIT*, is not only opposed to the new social system but also to any attempt at renewal within the Church. It is on the basis of this liturgical and theological conservatism that the great compromise was born, from the time that the Church felt that she had had enough

of political resistance. The Secretariat of State for Church Affairs, which has recourse to the right of investiture, does not hold rigid ritual formalities in esteem only because of their Baroque stately display. Formalism is a means of control.

Aware of the fact that the race for consumer goods is coming to an end, the Hungarian leaders are seeking to direct the people's ambitions toward other areas. They are now beginning to play on nationalist sentiments--cautiously, however, for the latter were the cause of the 1956 insurrection. They are increasing the number of studies and history books, often as many as 40,000 copies, and dwell on the unhappy lot of the 2 million Hungarians who live in Transylvania. There, also, they are urging the people in this subtle game engaged in by authorities to consolidate the status quo. Their insistence on the persecutions which the Hungarians underwent in Romania, whose cultural identity, "like the Polish," finds its expression in the Catholic faith, keeps alive Hungarian patriotic enthusiasm and strengthens national cohesiveness.

"To arouse deep feelings in order to control people is a despicable game," was the vehement comment made to us by a historian in a position able to follow fluctuation of present politics. "Instead of being a party to it, the church would do better to listen to the complaints of our own dissatisfied Christians and do everything possible to meet their spiritual needs. The political and intellectual anarchy here offers a golden opportunity to bring about a spiritual renewal. The state, on the other hand, is playing with a delayed-action bomb, and, if it does not watch out, the church will be found, as usual, on the wrong side of the fence."

[18 Oct 1979 p 8]

II. No Synthesis Between Thomas Aquinas and Karl Marx

Thanks to an "economic miracle" in the early 1970s, Hungarian leaders had sought to satisfy the people's desires for consumer goods. But, the economic depression is not sparing the socialist countries nor has the spiritual void, which the young people especially feel keenly, been filled by the Marxism, as expounded by the party, nor by Christianity such as the churches live it. The latter have lost their credibility because of their surrender to power (LE MONDE 17 October). Budapest. Does dissidence exist in Hungary? Judging by the freedom with which our interlocutors publicly criticize the regime, we could conclude that freedom of expression is complete. As a matter of fact, it is easy to tune in Radio Free Europe and the Austrian television. Moreover, the moderate size of the country and its capital facilitates contacts.

But censorship does indeed exist, omnipresent, even though, legally, it disappeared after the war. "At every decision level in newspapers and publishing houses, it plays a decisive part," writes Zsolt Krokovay, in a book recently published by EDITIONS DU SEVIL: "Oppositions=0.1%, excerpts from the Hungarian Samizdat." It is especially a matter of self criticism. The poet, as innocently as he can appear, insists that the use of such and such an

adjective could put the carrying out of his creative work in danger." Or as someone told us more concisely: "We each have a little policeman in our head who censures us."

Political opposition is poorly organized and widely dispersed. The only cohesive circle of scholars is that of the third Lukacsian generation (the second was obliged to emigrate). It is composed of young people, for the most part Atheists and frequently of Jewish origin, who claim kinship with the philosopher Lukacs and support the signatures of Charter 77, in Prague. The other organized group, a more numerous one, is that of the Narokniks: farmers, scholars and nationalists, who are seeking to revive the "Hungarian soul" with its cultural and folk traditions.

Among the Christians, dissent is very limited, but it does exist, especially in the small, free churches. Within all the churches, however, a more or less wide rift is evident between the leaders and the faithful. According to a young Reformed minister in the Budapest suburbs, for the past 10 years the clergy has no longer considered ecclesiastical leaders as representing the church but the state, and he even feels that in the event of conflict, he would not be defended by his church. Aware of the danger of schism, the authorities of this church, 3 years ago, chose as their new head, Dr Karoly Toth, a kind, intelligent man, a skilled politician, who is trying to restore confidence at the "grass roots" level.

For Dr Toth, who is president of the Christian Peace Conference, "things are progressively improving: the Marxists have learned a great deal; we also. At last, the regime has become fairly reasonable with regard to religion."

This, however, is not the opinion of 12 Methodist ministers (of the 17 ministers and 2 laymen preachers which this 3,000 member church now has) who seceded in 1973 to protest against the complete stranglehold the Office of Church Affairs had on their church. When the State wished to assign its own candidate, an accommodating man as church supervisor--which is illegal, for he should be freely elected every 2 years--the youngest ministers were opposed to it.

The Office of Church Affairs simply recognized the compliant minority and initiated proceedings for "abuse of right of assembly" against the ministers leading the rebel majority. They were given a suspended sentence (from 6 months to a year) and put on probation. But these ministers, supported by their congregation, continued the struggle. In view of this, the civil and religious authorities of the "official group" confiscated the ministers' possessions, requisitioned their churches and evicted them from their apartments.

At Szeged and at Gyorkony, two provincial districts, the Methodists, dispersed by the police although they were peacefully resisting, had to gather together in caves. At Kispest, a Budapest working-class suburb, the church was closed and sold to a cooperative. For a year, the congregation has been holding its religious services in the open air despite the bad weather. The only church

which they now have is the one in Nyiregyhaza with two rooms. At the beginning of this year, the dissident community had decided to establish a new church, called the Evangelical Church. Their request for state recognition has just been denied without any valid reason, while other churches have been split up within the law.

"We are particularly protesting against our eccles tical leaders' compromise with the state," says a dissident minister." In return for privileges which scandalize the simple faithful such as big salaries, official cars, posts in the best schools and universities for their children, traveling privileges, etc. They agree to lower themselves before those who govern us, defending their domestic and foreign policy, and go so far as to spy on church members considered subversive."

A Monarchic Church

If other small churches, the Adventists, the Nazarenes, have experienced similar splitting, the Catholic Church, on the other hand, proves to be much more monolithic. According to Mr Ferenc Magyar, director of the Catholic weekly UJ EMBER (NEW MAN) (1) "The church is always governed on a monarchic pattern, and the two bishops are the lords of long ago. Even the young priests allow themselves to be quickly swept up by the system."

This is probably one of the reasons for the scarcity of priests. There are at present 302 seminarians in the 5 interdiocesan seminaries (for 11 dioceses), as compared with 600 in 1948. The new priests, 40 to 50 a year, do not replace those who die. The clergy is relatively on in years. "The problem," says Mr Magyar, "is that there are more vocations for bishops than for priests!" This picture of a careerist church does not correspond with the yearnings of youth.

But there is no place for dispute in the church. A priest who had resolved to do manual work so as not to depend on money from the state or congregation found himself gradually set aside by his bishop, Cardinal Lekai, as neither the church nor the state tolerates worker priests. As for the faithful, for whom the institution has lost its credibility, they have joined together in increasingly larger numbers, in "grass-roots communities," with or without a priest. Both the state and the church are concerned about these "uncontrolled" gatherings, and the bishops have issued a warning to remind these communities that they should not be separated from the parish, the only legally recognized entity outside the diocese, for "a breaking away such as this could become extremely dangerous for the integrity of their faith and lead them into temptation, under the evil one's inspiration. As Catholics," the bishops conclude, "they should always and everywhere accept their pastors' directives in order that everything be done properly and in order."

The idea of order and discipline seems to haunt Cardinal Lekai. What impressed him most in Poland during Pope John Paul II's visit there, he told us, was "the lack of disorder and the great discipline of the crowds." On the subject

of the grass-roots communities, the cardinal becomes very reserved: Such groups as these," he said, "practically do not exist here because our Christian people do not like what is exaggerated. We are leery of new ideas coming from the West."

Despite the impressive docility of the established churches, the state has not given up its struggle against religion. On the idea level, the ideological struggle, both Marxist and atheistic, is becoming increasingly more intense. The number of those reached by the various courses, conferences and other Marxist-Leninist promotion tactics is estimated at 2 million. This figure includes all young people in schools, in elementary classes where Marxism is now compulsory, in universities and in the party schools.

The petty annoyances against believers, although illegal, continue on all levels. Religious education in state schools (eight secondary schools are Catholic. Two of these for girls are run by the only authorized religious orders: Benedictines, Piarists, Franciscans and Religious of Notre Dame-de-Kalocsa) In theory religious schooling is optional but rarely made possible.

Even catechism in church is held in poor esteem, and young people have been summoned by their teachers and told that if they continue to attend religious education classes they will not receive a passport to go abroad or they run the risk of losing a school scholarship. Although the intellectual elite, even believers, enjoy certain privileges, the great body of the people have nothing to be gained by parading their religion if they wish to lead a peaceable and untrammelled life.

The Catholic hierarchy's complacency toward the political powers is severely criticized both by a large number of the faithful who believe that the church could turn to better account the margin of freedom which has theoretically been granted it, and by Pope John Paul II who contrasts it with the tradition of the Polish hierarchy. During the Pope's visit to Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski was to take Cardinal Lekai to task on this subject, and one of John Paul II's first acts after his election was to send a letter to the Hungarian bishops to remind them of the part played by the Hungarian Catholic Church in the country's history.

Christian-Marxist Dialogue

As to the Christian-Marxist dialogue, such as it is, in short, opinions are divided into two sides. Some think that dialogue should be limited to practical subjects to maintain cordial face to face relations between the two parties. This is Cardinal Lekai's position: "From an ideological viewpoint, the people of our country are not homogeneous, but every day proves that harmony can be achieved in the country's common interests if, in the tasks to be carried out we do not consider what separates us but rather what binds us together. (...) We are of one mind with our Marxist fellowmen on this point, that matters based on different ideologies cannot become the subject of any baragining. This, however, does not mean either rigidity or ultraconservatism. Dialogue is a straightforward means of bringing us close

together, without, however, ruling out our own ideological principles, in a spirit of fellowship which our country's well-being demands of us."

If Cardinal Lekai is recommending a *modus vivendi* dictated by necessary relations, the Marxist philosopher, Gyorgy Likacs, in turn, was pleading in favor of a tacit alliance. In an article published shortly before his death in the magazine VILAGOSSAG, he wrote: "Marxism and religion are opposed in everything that has any bearing on the concept of the world. As for intermediary philosophical endeavors, I do not see in them any theoretical foundation. All transcendence is alien to Marxism. Teilhard de Chardin's attempt to reconcile the two ideas of the world ended in failure. It is totally inconceivable that we can find a way that is a synthesis between Thomas Aquinas and Karl Marx."

He added, however: "A sole front made up of believers and unbelievers is possible. Even now I am ready for a dialogue, without, however, overrating it. If with no preparation and no previous reflection I had to meet a leftist Catholic, nothing would come of it. Dialogue can be effective, not on the theoretical level, but on the practical level."

On the other hand, others are in favor of a philosophical and doctrinal dialogue. The previously mentioned Dr Toth thinks that Christians and Marxists have a great deal to learn from one another, even on an ideological level, and he believes that "if, contrary to what Marx had predicted, religion has not disappeared from socialist countries, it is due to the fact that the churches, thanks to Marxism, have acquired a broader outlook."

The Catholic poet, Janos Pilinszky, one of the most popular in Hungary, has admitted that as far as brotherhood is concerned, which is his favorite topic, he finds himself very close to the Marxists. "I believe in the mutual exchange of ideas," he says. "In the past century, it was in the East that Dostoyevsky wrote his most authentic texts on the individual, and in the present century, Simone Weil, in the West, has given us the most indispensable pages on the common man."

For Andras Szennay, father abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Pannonhalma, doctrinal dialogue is essential: "It seems to me that dialogue on philosophical and ideological questions is particularly important from the development point of view, for the burgeoning of the human mind," he wrote. "As a matter of fact, from this viewpoint, opponents take very seriously the results of their reflections, of the lessons learned from each of the concepts of the world."

The Church in Figures

Only government departments or the Communist Party are capable of making a survey of the entire country and publishing the statistics. The following figures, officially published between 1973 and 1978, are unconfirmed. Catholics: 5.25 million (8.5 million according to the bishops without counting the 500,000 Uniates of the Greek-Catholic rite), distributed throughout three

archdioceses and eight dioceses (one of which is Uniate). In January 1973, there were 4,014 priests. Education of priests is provided by four seminaries (one of which is for Uniates), and the Budapest Theological Academy, authorized to grant university degrees approved by Rome.

Catholic Action (which has nothing in common with the Western movements bearing that name) is an association which publishes several Catholic periodicals: UJ EMBER, a 4-page general weekly, circulation: 14,000; TEOLOGIA, a quarterly theological research periodical, circulation: 4,000. Protestants: The Reformed Church (Calvinists), about 2 million faithful; Evangelical Church (Lutheran) about 500,000 faithful. A group of Council of Free Churches, with around 37,000 members, distributed among 10 religious sects (Adventists, Baptists, Assembly of God, Pentecostals, Church of God, Christian Brothers, Methodists, Early Christians, Free Christians, Nazarenes) of which the Baptist Church, with 18,000 members is the most numerous.

The Reformed Church is divided into four districts (dioceses) with a bishop at the head of each. Two thousand ministers serve 1,587 assemblies or parishes. Two theological academies provide training for future ministers and 20 percent of the students are women. At present, some 100 women are awaiting ordination, which has not yet been approved. The Reformed Church has a weekly publication, a monthly information bulletin and a theological journal.

The Lutheran Evangelical Church is under the jurisdiction of the elder of the two bishops, assisted by an elected layman. It has 320 assemblies and its 500,000 faithful have about 400 ministers and 500 churches. Its theological academy enrolls some 40 students and publishes a weekly magazine which issues up to 10,000 copies, and also a monthly magazine intended for ministers, which issues up to 700 copies.

The Orthodox: The number of the Orthodox at present living in Hungary is estimated at 40,000, in scattered communities which, since 1949, belong to the Moscow patriarchate. The liturgical language is Hungarian.

The Jews: On the eve of World War II, there were 825,000 Jews in Hungary; of these, 600,000 were wiped out in Nazi concentration camps. Today there are between 80,000 and 100,000. Attending them are 26 rabbis and 130 synagogues. The Israelite community in Hungary has in Budapest the only rabbinical school in all Central and Eastern Europe, where six teachers take care of the education of eight to 10 students. There is also a Jewish lyceum and a bi-monthly publication, UJ ELET (New Life).

(1) UJ EMBER has a circulation of 90,000 copies, all of which are sold. The profits are sufficient to help to finance several Catholic agencies (Catholic Action, Episcopal Office for Ancient Monuments, etc.) Up to now only 11,000 copies were mailed to subscribers, and the remainder sold in the churches. However, the PTT (Post Office) department has just decided that all copies should be sent by mail, which will reduce profits by 31 percent instead of 7 percent. This "threat," however, has not yet gone into effect.

'LE FIGARO' JOURNALIST SPECULATES ON POSSIBILITY OF NEW PREMIER

Paris LE FIGARO in French 8 Oct 79 p 5

[Article by Bernard Margueritte from Warsaw: "Poland: Gierek in Search of a Prime Minister"]

[Text] Will we be witnessing a change of prime minister in Poland soon--before the congress set for the the very beginning of 1980? Indeed, this eventuality has already been evoked for some time, but passions seem to be mounting presently within the party for such a decision to be made swiftly.

In fact it is obvious--and no one contests it--that Jaroszewicz has become quite clearly unpopular in public opinion. Some reproach him for his incompetence; others go so far as to question his intellectual capacities. A very highly-placed Polish official told me maliciously in private, "He was deputy minister right after the war; he should never have gone higher." Moreover, rumors are scoffing at escapades attributed to a member of his family.

All this in fact confirms how thankless the role of prime minister is in case of difficulties. What is more, whether in, for example, France or Poland, the head of the government quickly becomes the chosen scapegoat. Nonetheless, it is hard to contest that the Polish Government in recent years has not known how, or been able, to realize the party's economic program, fixed by Edward Gierek and the Politburo.

Under these conditions, in Warsaw as in Paris, people are already speculating about the official who could succeed the present prime minister, who has become a political handicap for the head of state. Mr Gierek, if he ultimately decided to make this decision (no doubt naming Jaroszewicz to an honorary position, for example thanks to the creation of a governmental vice presidency), would in fact have three options:

--To designate an official politically close to Jaroszewicz (Wrzaszczyk, for example: the present president of the plan who has some family ties with the prime minister, or Pyka, who at this moment is deputy prime minister). In this case the change of the head of the government would aim only to give some satisfaction to public opinion without changing the present political line, which is very cautious and not very favorable to reforms.

--To name a transition prime minister charged with executing as faithfully as possible the program defined by the first secretary; Jagielski, who today is also deputy prime minister--a very competent man--would then be an excellent choice.

--To engage resolutely in a policy of overture in the continuity by making an alliance with the most open and liberal elements of the party. In this case it can scarcely be seen who besides Stefan Olszowski, a member of the Politburo, could be designated. In this hypothesis, however, it is probable that Olszowski, who is one of the party's best hopes, would demand serious political guarantees of action, having no intention of compromising in an adventure a career which promises to be brilliant.

Jaroszewicz's eventual departure would not be enough to provoke a marked renewal of confidence on public opinion. If this decision had been made in 1976 before the failure of the trial rise in prices, a psychological shock could have been created. Today no change of anyone that is not accompanied by profound reform would hardly be enough to arouse enthusiasm.

It still remains true that the decision taken by Gierk will be important and that the choice of an eventual future prime minister, heavy with consequences for the country's political evolution.

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ISLAMIC PAPER CRITICIZED FOR STAND AGAINST PRESS ARTICLES

Belgrade BOKBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 79 p 9

[Article by Ismet Kreso]

[Text] The publication of the article "Parergon" by Dervish Susic in the pages of OSLOBODJENJE has disturbed some individuals in the publishing house of PREPOROD--the Islamic newspaper--so much that they decided in their last issue of 15 November of this year to devote to it an editorial on the first page, as well as articles on the second and third pages! It is interesting, and indeed indicative, that the authors of the articles--H. Neimarlija ("An Inconsequential Work"), the one who signed with the initials A. K. S. ("A Drain on the Mind"), and the unidentified writer of the piece "Use the Right Address," (which is supposed to mean that the article is that of the publisher)--do not refute any of the claims in Susic's article. They, it appears, are disturbed "only" by the fact that it was published at all.

Although these articles are not the first ones in PREPOROD that go beyond the boundaries of religious life and religious problems, which renders realistic the question as to whether PREPOROD is indeed a merely religious paper, on this occasion we shall, at least for now, focus our attention on them alone.

Instead of substantiation and documents, which are abundant in "Parergon," the authors of the articles in PREPOROD use empty words in their attempt to "strip of value" and "diminish" the significance of this work. They neglect the facts, attempt to conceal the truth, and create unrest among the believers.

Misuses

By attacking everything that Dervish Susic wrote in "Parergon" those in PREPOROD, objectively, rise to the defense even of those individuals at the top of the Yugoslav Moslem Organization and the Islamic community of whose treason and ties with the enemy, on the eve of and during World War II, numerous documents speak indisputably. And today the defense of such people who, while satisfying their own narrow class, political and nationalistic appetites, had been preparing the terrain for the heaviest war atrocities--

or had directly supported them--is a job the consequences of which must be considered primarily by authors of articles such as these and similar ones. Appearing as "advocates" of the reactionaries from the past they, in fact, from the sphere of guaranteed religious liberties enter the sphere of their misuse, and by encouraging the believers to attack, and even curse at OSLOBODJENJE because of the publication of "Parergon," they are insulting all honest citizens, all believers whose religious orientation has not been and will never be an obstacle for them to struggle simultaneously, and as wholeheartedly as ever, for the development of this kind of socialist self-managing society.

Enjoying a full religious freedom in this country--and knowing that the latter is jeopardized only when it degenerates to the point of misuse--the great majority of members of the Islamic religion and, of course, all honest people in the Islamic community, will certainly reject all attempts to manipulate their attitudes, distort historical facts, and exonerate or defend those who in the past had used religious rituals and editorials in the religious press for serving the monarchy, stirring up religious and national exclusivism and chauvinistic passions, extolling Pavelić and the occupying forces.

Omissions

To everyone who is aware of all of the advantages and strength of our unity, and everything we have achieved in this country and in Bosnia and Hercegovina as it is--"not Moslem, Serbian, or Croatian, but ours in common: both Moslem, Serbian, as well as Croatian"--the method which in this case is used by the authors of the articles in PREPOROD is very transparent. They unilaterally polemicize with history and demand that the others be silent about it. It is as if there had never been instances of treason from among the lines of the Moslems, or things such as those which Dervish Susić writes about: misuse of religious feelings, nationalistic deals damaging to certain ethnic peoples, as well as, to everyone and serving the occupying forces.

All of this, of course, does not reduce the great sacrifices which the Moslem nation, together with all of our nations and nationalities, made for their own, and our common liberation. The Moslem nation is aware that the actions of those traitors and servants to the occupying forces had first of all threatened its own most vital interests. The afore mentioned articles in the last issue of PREPOROD, however, simply overlook all of this and would rather that it would not be written or spoken about.

Reactions

The individuals in PREPOROD are also sufficiently clever not to show that they are the only ones who are angered by the publication of "Parergon." Therefore, in the unsigned publisher's article, along with the perfidious

insinuation that many things are not clear even to them--which is intended to create an impression of a lack of freedom--they speak of a "mass reaction to Susic's writing," and proceed, from positions that are not quite religious, to advise the readers to approach OSLOBODJENJE: "Please, write us, criticize, comment, praise, if you feel like it! But leave PREPOROD alone, for God's sake! And learn a rule. Call on the right address! Curse some place else too, since you are already so brave!"

If the authors of the articles in PREPOROD believed that in this fashion they would urge the people to sympathize with their onesided views on the past--they were mistaken. People use their own heads!

The Essence

What are, in fact the authors of the articles in PREPOROD afraid of? They fear the truth which has been published and that which will be published. They do not flinch from saying that what has been written about the calamities which our people went through can have a negative effect on the young. They object to the fact that this is being read by young people and, among other things, they say: "Should they now, by reading these black lines, adopt the emotions which are suggested to them, a behavior that is simply imposed on them. Should they start hating one another?"

It appears that the authors of the mentioned articles would be pleased if the young were to forget the price of freedom. This, judging by everything, is one of their aims. The one who signed with the initials A. K. S. in his article "A Drain on the Mind," among other things, states:

"While passing judgement they hate! And it is as if they were sorry that those people are not alive so they can also get even with them--for the second time. Or, they are sorry that they are not so powerful as to be handling something else instead of a pen."

Whom does A.K.S. have in mind, and who is sorry "that those people are not alive" so that it is impossible to "get even with them once more?" If he is referring to those who, in the name of freedom, brotherhood and our communal life, got even with wartime reactionaries and traitors of the interests of each of our peoples alone and all of them together, then a response will be offered by the combatants of the national liberation war. Yet if he believes that our working people and citizens--writers, scientists, journalists and others--do not see the attempts at a "national" valuation of the past within the framework of certain calculations involving an eventual tomorrow, then he is mistaken. The transparent allusion to the "handling of something else instead of a pen" is indicative in many respects.

When they read the mentioned articles in PREPOROD all honest citizens, regardless of whether they are religious or not, will discern their true meaning. The believers belonging to every religious group are deeply aware of the liberties they themselves fought for and enjoy in a common fatherland. Being proud of the greatness of our achievement of liberation, they were and have remained resistant to attempts aimed at the disturbance of the relations among our peoples. They know where the road would lead when it is advocated by forces which have not reconciled themselves to the victory of our revolution for the goals of which so many sons and daughters of all of our peoples and nationalities gave their lives.

The brotherhood and unity of the Serbs, Croats, Moslems and the other peoples and nationalities of this country have been strong, are and will remain a permanent pledge and weapon against all counter-revolutionary attempts, irrespective of whether they are expressed in pressures on nonaligned and self-managing Yugoslavia, or in the machinations and plotting of the remnants of the class enemy and its allies or, again, in attempts at a theoretical rehabilitation of defeated bigotry.

The Motives

Without going into all of the reasons why some people in the publishing house of PREPOROD were so anxious to speak out very early since they also know that "Parergon" in OSLOBODJENJE--soon to appear in a separate book--has not yet been published in its entirety, we shall gladly respond to their basic question: What is the purpose, as they say, of the great publicity and the publication of Susic's work in general?

First of all, it is supposed to demonstrate the kinds of sidetracks national and religious exclusivism, as well as blind trust in so-called representatives of the faith and of a people have led to, and to inspire more serious historiographic reflections on some of the less clear events of the past. And, finally, its purpose is to prevent such chasms in the conscious and consciousness from being revived every again.

That is all--on this occasion.

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